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**Council Letter No. 193
June 15, 1948**

A Letter

To each Delegate to the
Republican National Convention:

We address you because you are both patriotic and intelligent.

For 144 years all political parties in America supported the kind of Republic the Fathers founded in 1789.

Then F. D. Roosevelt, breaking away from the principles that had made us strong and great, led a movement towards Marxist Socialism—a movement that, unless reversed, will destroy America's independence.

In 1936, in 1940, and again in 1944, the Republican Party, unwittingly yielding to the same Marxist forces, vainly imagined it could defeat New Deal philosophy by itself adopting the same line.

The political question of today is—will your convention, meeting June 21 at Philadelphia, follow the lead of those three former campaigns?

Or, heeding what the people said in November, 1946, will you give them a real leader and a real issue in November, 1948?

If the delegates fail in this, then, from the standpoint of America, they might as well not meet.

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We are supposed to have the two-party system. For 16 years, with some qualifications, we have not had it. In 1940 and 1944 the Republican candidate and platform adopted large parts of New Dealism. They fell for the propaganda of the New Deal. That is why they were beaten.

The question today is whether, in the coming campaign, the same mistakes are to be repeated.

In spite of tons of propaganda, we believe you deem the United States of America the greatest, best and freest country on earth, and you mean to keep it so. Your own intelligence tells you that prosperity and freedom are no accidents: that they come from selection and effort exercised under our incomparable Constitution. Good measures must be adopted, and bad measures rejected. But, after good courses are chosen, you know well that ceaseless effort must be expended to make them work, and eternal vigilance observed to insure we keep them.

The exercise of free judgment is the most precious

right of citizenship. In your case, as a delegate, the right is even more precious, for upon the way you exercise it the future of our country will depend. Therefore we ask you to *make up your own mind on the issues. And, if you have reason to feel that real issues are not being presented, insist that they be brought out for your decision.*

You need not be anybody's rubber stamp. You are an American. You have the right to demand that no necessary facts be withheld from you, and that your decisions be free and based upon reality.

It will seem important to you for the Party to put before the nation a winning platform and a winning candidate. After almost sixteen years of New Deal subversion, hypocrisy and corruption, we do not make light of that desire. It is urgently necessary that conduct of our public affairs be taken away from those who have brought us to the brink of ruin.

Yet the mere transfer of power from one party to another will do America little good *unless there is a change in direction.* If all that Republicans will do, if put in power, is to continue down the New Deal road, promising only to straighten out its crookedness, then your convention, campaign and election will have been a farce.

The overshadowing issue of our time is whether our people and our nation are to remain free. Our Constitution was designed to maintain the freedom of both. By its guarantees, its checks and balances, it is framed to preserve *individual liberties* to every citizen. By asserting the independence of the United States against the world, it is framed to defend that internal individual freedom against threat from without.

The founders of our country knew well that both internal and external freedom go hand in hand. Each is necessary to the other. If one is lost, the other is lost. That is why they insisted both upon constitutional guarantees of personal freedom and the creation of a union strong enough to keep its independence. Webster knew this when, in his reply to Hayne on January 26, 1830, he cried, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!"

Today the assault upon liberty is directed against both these constitutional ramparts. The assault is not now just beginning; it has been going on for more

than sixteen years. It aims to filch, bit by bit, step by step, from the American people those individual liberties without which life is not worth living. And it aims as well, with consummate skill, to take from us the external independence of the United States.

The United States is not the only country in the world where this struggle is going on. The attack upon liberty here and abroad follows the same pattern wherever it appears. And in that pattern two characteristics stand out.

First, the assault on freedom is never honestly presented for what it is. If those who conspire against human liberty should say, "Come with us to serfdom," few would follow. So the conspirators against freedom take care to present the successive steps of the road to bondage as something other than what they are. They paint them as of "minor importance," or as "contributing to sound economics"—economics being a subject the average man thinks as difficult as higher mathematics. Upon great occasions when some step fatal to freedom is being promoted, the conspirators audaciously and glowingly assert it is a stride "toward fuller freedom!" Which is precisely what Hitler did—what Stalin does.

Second, appearing repeatedly in the pattern of conspiracy, is the fake cry, "*Emergency!*" Everybody knows that in an emergency one must act quickly. If you stand on a railway track and a train rounds a curve toward you at ninety miles an hour, you have to act fast. There is no time for debate.

So, the conspirators think up "emergencies." On the ground of emergency, government acquires special "temporary" powers. Then the "emergency" passes, but the powers are quietly retained. People chafe, so another emergency is cooked up, and new "temporary" powers are gained. The cycle is repeated until total power is obtained.

In the last sixteen years you have often seen these two characteristics. Many times the New Deal has "sold" curbs upon individual freedom as the very opposite of what they really were—by convincing the American people they were getting *more* freedom. Many times it has manufactured "emergencies." To this day it has not ceased to do either of these things.

The history of our time affords illuminating parallels—parallels which each of us needs urgently to know about, if we are to understand how far the conspiracy against our own external and internal freedom has already gone.

The first parallel is that of Great Britain. The long struggle for political and social liberty of which we are the heirs had deep roots there for a thousand years before our Declaration of Independence. And though our political institutions are incomparably better than those of Britain, yet their love of liberty has long been more nearly like ours than that of any other people.

But what has happened in Britain recently? Bit by bit, "crisis" after "crisis," the Socialist government elected in 1945 has edged Britain toward the collectivist police state—while telling the people at each step they were going in another direction. "The people never give up their liberties but under some delusion," said Edmund Burke. And the Socialists in power in Britain have a well stocked arsenal of delusions. Today Britain

would be enjoying economic recovery and political health were it not that their own government has fastened upon its people the very chains Hitler designed for them and which their armed forces fought heroically to avoid.

Today the British citizen has no right to food or clothing unless he has "registered" and received his "identity card" and "ration book." His freedom of movement is limited by gasoline and money rationing. He is liable either to military or *forced labor* conscription ("The Control of Engagements Order," Nov. 3, 1947). If he has a dwelling, he may not buy new furniture, a bed or bedding, without an official permit, which is hard to get. He may not build a house. He may not manufacture or export, save under license, and then only such goods and in such quantities as bureaucracy directs. Coal, railroads and civil aviation have been "nationalized," with other steps to follow. These are not Spartan measures of self-denial resulting from the war. They are weapons of a Socialist government to destroy private enterprise and initiative. Yet every appeal "to work harder and produce more" has been accompanied by penalties against harder work and more production!

These weapons are forcing the British people back to serfdom. "The Control of Engagements Order" puts the Briton back to the status assigned him by "The Statute of Labourers" of 1349, enacted after the Black Death.

Yet we Americans are walking the same path. And we are not so far as we may think behind the British in the procession.

For there is a procession. The British are not alone. Down this same path went Bismarck, the Kaiser, Hitler. Down this path Mussolini led the Italian people. It is the path (though shortened in time) by which Russia passed from Czar to Kerensky—to Lenin. *It is the path nearly all Western Europe is walking now, subsidized by our dollars and exports not to take the path of freedom. New Deal propaganda has persuaded a Congress, supposedly Republican-controlled, to the ineffable delusion, that the way to stop the slavery of Bolshevism is to embrace the slavery of Socialism.*

It is of supreme importance that you, as a delegate to the Republican National Convention, know how similar the processes and techniques New Dealers are using here are to the processes and techniques which have already been used in Europe. Some of them have already been imbedded in our governmental structure and in our law. We are already far down the pathway to destruction, while the American people have little real understanding, or none at all, of what is being done to them.

If the Republican Party comes to power this year, it must make a choice. It can simply substitute Republican jobholders for Democratic jobholders, and continue meekly on down the New Deal path. Or, in a mighty upsurge of American intelligence and patriotism, it can reverse the course of the last sixteen years and give us an *American* policy of liberty at home and independence abroad.

This is not reaction. The maintenance of liberty is never reactionary. It is the collectivists generally, whether Communists, Socialists or New Dealers, who

are profoundly and disastrously reactionary as they attempt to destroy our national and individual freedom. Progress and freedom go hand in hand: abandon one, and you forfeit the other.

You must make your solemn choice. For this is one of those world-moments when a direction may be reversed if enough people care enough, and are willing to work hard enough, to reverse it. No impersonal forces shape human history. History's record, under God, is the record of human decisions and human efforts. Communists and their kin try to paralyze us with such words as "inevitable," and "historic necessity." But "necessity is the plea for every infringement of human freedom, the argument of tyrants and the creed of slaves."

The path to liberty has often been blazed by one, or a paltry few. The Apostle Paul almost alone laid the foundation of Christianity among the Gentiles—against the "inevitable" power of pagan Rome. In the third decade of the 15th century, a peasant girl in her teens led armies that threw the invader out of France. Our own American independence was won by a few—against the supposedly overwhelming power of a British tyrant.

The opportunity for change is here, now. It has come before, but it may not come again. In 1940 and 1944, the Republican Party merely aped the New Deal, assuring the people that it could "do the job better." Defeat in those years was deserved, for the people were denied a choice between a party that stood for ultimate serfdom and one that stood for freedom.

Victory in November for the Republican Party is by no means sure. A great deal can happen between now and then. The election may be held in the midst of another "crisis," manufactured or real. With a fumbling, "me-too" platform and a fumbling, "me-too" candidate, the Republican Party could meet a final and crushing defeat. To imagine the collectivists will not pull something out of their bag of tricks, as a last desperate device to keep control over America, is to be simple-minded. What the trick will be we do not know. It might be foreign war, with the campaign set to the old tune, "Don't change horses!"

How to Overturn the New Deal

To stop the New Deal direction certain specific things must be undone—certain specific things must be done. We mention a few of the more important:

First, you must recognize that fiscal mis-management and chicanery in expert hands can produce total government control, national bankruptcy and chaos. That is one of the ways we are being collectivized without our knowledge or consent today. High prices, the inflation that is undermining our whole ownership-structure, the constant shortages—these did not merely happen. They have been deliberately caused by human action—by New Deal action.

Second, Federal expenses and the Federal bureaucracy have been swollen out of all proportion to any real need. Appropriations approved by a Republican Congress are greater this year than in any peace-time year in our history. The load upon the backs of those who earn and produce has become well-nigh unendur-

able. The bureaucracy is a menace to our economic health and to our political freedom. Its effect is inflationary, and it can swing any close election in favor of the party in power. In fact it has done so every year except 1946.

Third, Federal doles, grants and loans to foreign countries, extended upon old pleas of "emergency" and "crisis," today threaten us with runaway inflation. They are sapping the natural resources and diverting the manufactured products we need to keep our own economic machine running. Unless a halt is called in our prodigality, we shall face economic ruin at home about the time that we have given Europe the means to undersell us in the world's markets.

In all three of these instances the Republican Party, to give the people clear alternatives, must speak clearly in the campaign and act decisively if it is put in power. Our inflated money must be made good again. Inflation is a disease of paper currencies and government-debt; it does not stem from permitting the citizen to procure and keep gold. Paper currencies and deficit financing can be "managed" to promote public and private ruin.

Federal expenses, the Federal bureaucracy and Federal taxes must and CAN be reduced by at least one-third. Only so can the venture capital necessary to the health of private enterprise be accumulated and put to work. A large part of our tax money goes for the misnamed "European Recovery Program" on the pretext of "crisis!" If we are not to ruin America we shall have to call a halt to squandering our wealth to buy dubious ill-will abroad, when what Europe needs most of all is to get to work and provide work-incentives. Our loans and gifts will accomplish no permanent good so long as we pay the bills for its inefficient Socialist regimes. The moment we stop our dole they will have to go back to work. Our "aid" is really a tragedy for the industrious, freedom-loving peoples of Europe.

Fourth, there is a group of other domestic problems which must be faced resolutely—if the Republican Party is to save the Republic from which it takes its name. All are involved in the choice between freedom and collectivism. Among them are such proposals as "Public Housing," "FEPC," "Public Ownership of Light and Power," "Federal Aid to Education," "Socialized Medicine" in the name of "health insurance," and the like. *Each of these is a part of the Communist-Collectivist conspiracy to transform America into a nation of government-controlled serfs. If, as in past years, the Republican platform endorses any or all of these, in whole or in part, under the delusion that such measures are "progressive," or that it must endorse them to win the "liberal vote," the Republican Party will be signing its own death-warrant, and perhaps the death-warrant of a free America.* The fact that some good people favor them is beside the point. You must act upon your knowledge, not upon their ignorance or prejudice.

Fifth, we are today confronted with threats to the external liberty of America—that national independence upon which every internal freedom of every citizen depends.

To mince words would be no compliment to your intelligence. UN and all that it stands for is the im-

placable enemy of all that the Constitution of the United States stands for. If UN "succeeds," it will be only because the United States will have ceased to be sovereign and free. Already UN has created a vast spider-web of agencies designed to entrap the economic, political and social life of the whole world into an all-embracing collectivism. It is a scheme to siphon off the remaining resources of the United States. If the U.S.A. continues with UN (maintained chiefly at our expense), we shall lose our sovereignty and our economic and social freedom. Ultimately we shall face a world held in bondage and terror by an Atomic Development Authority (ADA) responsible to none other than itself, supreme over national governments, though they may still exist in name, with the absolute power to destroy entire nations overnight.

Not separable in fact from the design for world domination through UN and its agencies is the phenomenon known as Political Zionism. To say this is not anti-Jewish but rather the reverse. For the majority of American Jews appear to abhor Political Zionism, but are intimidated and silenced by a strident minority of their people who promote it for veiled purposes. Some Jews, notably the American Council for Judaism, have spoken out valiantly as true Americans against the Zionist aggression which seeks to dispossess the Arabs of Palestine from their thousand-year homeland, and which rightly makes suspect the loyalty to America of every Political Zionist.

Americans should examine with open minds the claims of Political Zionism, and go far deeper than the spurious representation that it reflects merely the desire of an ancient people to return to its "homeland." Only a small fraction of the Jews of the world could possibly be accommodated there. Jewish tribes took the land by conquest nearly three thousand years ago, exercised intermittent control for a few centuries, then lost it by conquest. Since then it has passed through various hands—by conquest. Arabs have been the majority inhabitants for thirteen centuries, accompanied by a few Jews and a greater number of Christians. Christian people who have vaguely thought that "God gave the land to the Jews" so that we ought to help them dispossess the Arabs, had better examine the terms under which God gave them the land in the first place. They were promised the land upon the condition of obedience and told that if they were not obedient God would take it from them. God did take it from them, and the prophets of Israel declared in the Old Testament it was taken from them for that reason.

Christian prophecy speaks of a return of Jews to Palestine in the last days, at the return of Christ, but only when they have repented and turned to Him whom they first rejected. It is notorious that the Political Zionists who have swarmed into Palestine are irreligious and bear a special hatred to Christianity and its Divine Founder. How any Christian can be deluded into thinking it a Christian duty to aid Zionists, who are too often atheists, to reconquer the land made Holy by Christ, is hard to understand.

The immoral attempt of Zionists to take Arab land by force and to set up a government based upon the

rights of an invading minority as against a majority long in possession, is of no interest of the United States. For us to support it, either directly or through UN, is to contend that German aggression is evil while Jewish aggression is good.

* * * * *

Delegates to the Convention: You are in position to render an historic service to America. Give us an *American* policy. Give us *American* leadership. Get us off this collectivist detour that leads only to the abyss. Lead us forward, testing every action proposed by this one test: *Will it preserve and promote individual and national freedom?* If it will, it is good, it is American. If it will not, *reject it*.

The eyes of unborn American generations will scrutinize and evaluate what you do in Philadelphia. Will you not restore the Republic of our fathers? Will you not exalt again its principles of freedom? Will you not restore to American public life the standards of honesty, decency and respect for the laws of God by which only a people may remain fit for freedom?

Will you not give the American people in 1948 a real choice between soul-destroying collectivism and life-giving liberty?

You will answer this letter by what you do, or fail to do, in Philadelphia. You will answer, not to us, but to the American people, to history and to the eternal God who has placed the destiny of America in your hands.

Mervin L. Hart

President,

NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL, Inc.

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